1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 851 taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity, and two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine times and invites the grandfather to name the child. The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity, and the whole family is gathered in the room. The mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet with tears stands before the grandfather with her husband at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name of good omen. This is the first time that the grandfather has seen the child. Looking like the living image of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash—always an even number. He then takes his grandson in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed on to all the other members of the family who embrace him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father and mother.

• 608 851 553 In families where there are few children or where a number of children have died in infancy, it is common to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck" of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a Chinese term) of the child. This relationship somewhat resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child throughout his life is considered to be in some way related to the family of his "dry father." At the New Year and other important festivals he will always visit his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle. The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the child and can be expected to help in such things as arranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into the adopting family.

553 Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lamaistic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Prosperity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name that records the age of their father's mother when they were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name of the father's father is given in this way only if the father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chinese of this region, on the other hand, a child is fre-

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553 quently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.[27]

553 608 When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao*, so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.[28]

553 Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao—Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.[29]

553 851 The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

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[27] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 119.

[28] Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O. L.

[29] This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O. L.

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867 quarrels among husbands and wives. It is thus that they acquire a training in what is allowed and what is not allowed in their own society, and can absorb exact knowledge of what constitutes authority in the family and the village.

INSTITUTIONAL KINSHIP

608 The custom of "sworn brotherhood" is ancient in Mongol society and is widespread in Asia. The purpose of the institution is to bind together two or more men either for aid and support in general or for specific purposes. Sworn brotherhood is binding only on the individuals concerned and not on family or social groups to which they belong. Men need not belong to the same clan in order to swear brotherhood; in fact the institution probably arose out of the necessity for mutual loyalty in situations not covered by clan or family loyalty. Thus a Monguor will swear brotherhood not only with other Monguors but with Mongols, Tibetans, Chinese, or Muslims. Nor does difference in social condition matter, because a rich man may take the oath with a poor man and even a T'u-ssu with one of his subjects. Women, however, are very seldom "sworn sisters," and man and women are never "sworn brother and sister."

The oath then can be taken under various conditions. Men whose purpose is not honorable will take the oath at night, in secrecy, while those whose purpose is honorable will act quite openly, taking the oath either at the home of one of them or in the village temple.

Among the Monguors the rite requires that a sheep, goat, or chicken be killed, some of its blood gathered in a bowl, and wine added. Holding incense sticks in their joined hands, the two or more men who are going to take the oath of brotherhood prostrate themselves simultaneously before a picture or statue of the temple deity, or before "Heaven and all the spirits." Each then makes a prostration to the other as they swear solemnly an oath of mutual aid and support, calling for punishment from the spirits in case of falsehood or disloyalty. Each puts on the other's head the picture of the spirit who is being invoked, or a book containing Tibetan prayers, and both (or all) drink the blood of the sacrificial animals, mixed with wine.[31] If there are more than two taking the oath, each is given a number and from then on they address each other only by number, as "big brother number 1," "number 2," and so on. While such an oath may be taken perfectly openly, there is often about it an air of secrecy and of something reprehensible, which is not strange in view of the fact that rebellions in China have traditionally been started by bands of sworn brothers.

After the rite has been performed, the brothers present each other with articles of clothing, such as a hat or a pair of boots.

[31] R. Grousset, *Empire des steppes*, 268. Paris, Payot, 1939, notes that when Wang Khan of the Keraits made peace with Chingis Khan, he sent him "blood contained in a cowhorn," to be used at the time of the swearing of the oath. [P. 106a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

608 The Monguors, in taking this oath, never open a vein and drink their own blood as was done traditionally among the Turks and Mongols, among whom this kind of institutional brotherhood is known by the term *anda*.[32] In this ceremony each man opened a vein in his arm, mixed the blood in a cup with milk or fermented milk-wine, in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter each was not only the sworn brother of the other, but each enjoyed in his blood-brother's clan the same rights and privileges as if he were born from the same womb, and conversely was bound by the obligations expected of an elder or younger brother.[33]

Analogous ceremonies are known from the Polar regions to southern Asia. In the region of the Behring Straits, among the Koryaks, Italmen, and Yukagirs, a dinner is given, at which the men pledge mutual aid. Among the Koryaks and Yukagirs there is an exchange of possessions. Women and girls may also swear friendship or sisterhood in this manner.[34]

Among the Tungus the custom seems to be relatively recent and to have spread directly from the Chinese and indirectly from the Chinese through the Manchus. In taking the oath, the Tungus pray to the spirit of Heaven. Shirokogoroff considers that this is a borrowed custom because within Tungus society the relations of persons belonging to different clans were quite satisfactorily regulated.[35]

In Southwest China, among the Miao of the Province of Kueichou a cat is killed and its blood is mixed with wine and drunk;[36] in another account of Miao ceremony, Legendre notes that there are no religious ceremonies and that a dog is killed and its blood mixed with wine and drunk.[37]

608 782 Monguors, in addition to taking as witnesses "Heaven and all the spirits" or a temple deity, may invoke the buildings of a temple, or a well-known scripture such as the Kandjur or Tandjur, or a Living Buddha. The curses that are invoked in case of disloyalty are worded in such phrases as: "If I break my oath, may I be a man who has eaten the flesh of his own parents"; or "A man

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[32] The difference between *anda* sworn brotherhood and the institution of *nukur*, which has been mentioned above, is that the *nukur* was more purely military; he was a "man-at-arms" who, instead of serving in tribal ranks where loyalty and discipline were automatically covered by tribal sanctions, declared himself to be henceforth the follower of some military leader to whom he owed no blood-allegiance, but to whom henceforth he would profess a loyalty transcending that to clan and tribe. In the *anda* institution there was seniority, but also an equality of brotherhood. In the *nukur* relationship there was the strict subordination of the follower to the leader.—O. L.

[33] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 61, Paris, 1896.

[34] Hubert Konig, Das Recht der Polarvölker, *Anthropos* 22: 736, 1927.

[35] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Tungus*, as cited, 736.

[36] P. A. Schotter, Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus aborigènes du Kouy-tcheou, *Anthropos* 3: 419, 1908.

[37] A. F. Legendre, *Le far-west chinois*, 448, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

608 782 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[38]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 685 Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 648 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

[38] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

[P. 107a]

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608 648 [282] curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

428 596 The division of the inheritance is one of the most difficult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

[F 1076]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
563 transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
441 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
439 getic and enterprising people, even more hard working and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

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463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
439 monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on
484 pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining
484 during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and
484 travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really
608 depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

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presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

The young Monguors who have once worked with the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on how Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P 116a]

585 /68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuĭ t shan" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos., 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogr. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two-parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure. When a wife has no niang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her niang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...." Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs, our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery! If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would have had splendid gifts."- Then the cupbearer advances toward the grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather," continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt, unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grandfather must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes; moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows; in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

/116 cont'd/

000 in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo 583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) The

Mo 425 606 608

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

/117 cont'd/

606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this

608 path.

606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

/119 cont'd/

606 608 428 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his property, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division of property, for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have something to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable. I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 675 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor; either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/ family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, loving her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

/120 cont'd/

M 675 608 an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Mo HM 608 Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how

HM [606] 1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Chingis Khan, p. 84: (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Chingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Börté, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) The proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /Cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

M 361 831 The subprefecture of Koei-tê, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

/120 cont'd/

361 331 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they arrive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage outside the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them; on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and the T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 184 177 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brethren of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is the master and mistress of the home, nü-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan custom.

178 608 177] How must one explain the deformation of the practice of husband-son-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-ssŭ, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-ssŭ were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-ssŭ alone was

[622]

608 /121 cont'd/
178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court
[428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution
565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for
466 another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the
466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors
606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be
583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/123 cont'd/

Mo 675 606 466 583 be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171 The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1).

Mo 606 608 583 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

/123 cont'd/

Mo 606 608 583

young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

Mo [534]

Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

Mo 608 606 583 71

and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jên, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

Mo 608 583

Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

/124 cont'd/

608 583 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597 583 606 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate triumphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'oŭ-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors, and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussion. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
●608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-sse. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 342]

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzũla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgē tsia.
[782] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzãn kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienãni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: urog̀. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsiġãn yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëġä; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agũ.
Daughter: fsdzũn.
192 He died as a rider: tsũrog morina bagaldilã sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sãṅrẽdzi liela guei wõldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuãmbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sẽṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21
192 above].

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p.56(A)]